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## DOCUMENTS

### *Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765, I.*

MR. ABEL DOYSIÉ, searching Paris archives under the general direction of Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, was so fortunate as to discover the following journal in the archives of the Service Hydrographique de la Marine,<sup>1</sup> and, immediately appreciating its interest and importance, has placed it at the disposal of the *Review*. The manuscript consists of 79 unnumbered pages. Of these, the first 54 are a journal, in English, extending from December 4, 1764, to September 7, 1765. Page 55 contains only a memorandum in French. Pages 56-62 inclusive present, in French, a close equivalent of the English narrative through March 14, 1765. Pages 63-69 are a discussion, in French, of the American towns, especially Norfolk, Philadelphia, and New York, of their defenses, and of the degree of ease with which they might be attacked. Pages 70-79, not here printed, contain a series of comments, article by article, by the same writer, on someone's plans for the conquest of Jamaica from the English.

The writer was a Catholic, and apparently a Frenchman, indeed apparently an agent of the French government; but all efforts to identify him, both by careful investigations in the French archives and by consultation of books and manuscripts in this country, have thus far been unsuccessful, except that it has been demonstrated, from evidence in the French archives, that he was not M. de Pontleroy, whom Choiseul sent over to inspect the colonies in 1764. He seems to use English and French with nearly equal freedom, at any rate spells both about equally well. The manuscript is in the same hand throughout, with the same peculiarities of execution, such as the almost constant capitalizing of C, D, and E. But it appears that the journal we have was not the first manuscript, but is the result of subsequent copying. The installment now printed divides at the crossing of the Potomac. The journey to Annapolis, Philadelphia, and New York will be presented in the second installment, together with the notes on defenses.

While the remarks of this observant traveller have at many

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 76, no. 2.

points a considerable value, and are not unfairly to be compared to those of Burnaby, Anburey, and Lord Adam Gordon, the most interesting single matter in the journal is the writer's eye-witness account of the debate in the House of Burgesses of Virginia, May 30 and 31, 1765, on Patrick Henry's resolutions against the Stamp Act, and especially interesting is the writer's version of the celebrated passage in Henry's speech in which he made his interrupted comparison of George III. with Caesar and Charles I. It is a remarkable chance that further information respecting that debate should come to light, after this distance of time, from a source so unexpected.

It may be of interest to set forth the basis of our existing knowledge concerning that oft-quoted passage in Henry's speech. The first published account occurs in a private letter from Virginia, dated June 21, apparently not written by an eye-witness, which was published in extract in the *London Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, no. 11,363, Aug. 13, and was thence reprinted in *The General Advertiser for the New York Thursday's Gazette*, no. 1191, Oct. 31, 1765.<sup>2</sup> This anonymous writer says:

Mr. ——— has lately blazed out in the Assembly, where he compared ——— to a Tarquin, a Caesar, a Charles the First, threatening him with a Brutus, or an Oliver Cromwell; yet Mr. ——— was not sent to the Tower: but having prevailed to get some ridiculous violent Resolves passed, rode off in triumph, some of which Resolves were passed one day, and erased the next; and the G——, advised by the Council, thought proper to dissolve the Assembly.

The first statement published in any book seems to have been that of Gordon, who says,<sup>3</sup> "Upon reading these resolves [he no doubt means, upon the reading of these resolves] the Scotch gentlemen in the House cried out treason, etc. They were however adopted." John Burk, in the third volume of his *History of Virginia* (Petersburg, 1805),<sup>4</sup> reports the passage more fully, thus: "'Caesar', said he, 'had his Brutus, Charles his Cromwell, and (pausing) George the third (here a cry of treason, treason, was heard, supposed to issue from the chair, but with admirable presence of mind he proceeded) may profit by their examples. Sir, if this be treason,' continued he, 'make the most of it.'" But Burk also purports to give, as a quotation, an extended sketch of the

<sup>2</sup> The librarian of Yale College, Mr. Andrew Keogh, kindly favored the editor with a transcript of the article, from the New York newspaper preserved in that library. The *London Gazetteer*, since examined, reads the same. The matter of the resolves, to which the writer alludes, is discussed in note 84, below.

<sup>3</sup> *History of the Rise, etc.* (London, 1788), I. 170.

<sup>4</sup> Page 309.

speech, certainly apocryphal, and his account of the resolutions is so erroneous as to allow little authority to his narrative.

The classical account is that which was next published, namely, by William Wirt, in his *Life of Patrick Henry*. It runs as follows:<sup>5</sup>

It was in the midst of this magnificent debate, while he was descanting on the tyranny of the obnoxious act, that he exclaimed, in a voice of thunder, and with the look of a god, "Caesar had his Brutus — Charles the first, his Cromwell, and George the third — ('Treason!' cried the speaker — 'treason, treason', echoed from every part of the house. It was one of those trying moments which is decisive of character. Henry faltered not an instant; but rising to a loftier attitude, and fixing on the speaker an eye of the most determined fire, he finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis) — *may profit by their example*. If *this* be treason, make the most of it."

To this passage in his text, Wirt annexes the following footnote:

I had frequently heard the above anecdote of the cry of treason, but with such variations of the concluding words, that I began to doubt whether the whole might not be fiction. With a view to ascertain the truth, therefore, I submitted it to Mr. Jefferson, as it had been given to me by Judge Tyler, and this is his answer. "I well remember the cry of treason, the pause of Mr. Henry at the name of George III., and the presence of mind with which he closed his sentence, and baffled the charge vociferated." The incident, therefore, becomes authentic history.

Wirt's account is therefore given on the joint authority of John Tyler the elder and of Thomas Jefferson, both of whom heard the speech, standing side by side in the doorway between the house and the lobby,<sup>6</sup> the former a youth of eighteen, the latter of twenty-three. Jefferson in his autobiography refers to this account by Wirt for the details of the matter.<sup>7</sup> Apparently the account of these two eye-witnesses is confirmed in a manuscript letter to Wirt, by Paul Carrington, who also was an eye-witness, indeed a member of the house.<sup>8</sup>

Early in the nineteenth century Edmund Randolph (d. 1813) wrote a *History of Virginia*, which still remains in manuscript, in which he reports the language of the orator thus: "'Caesar had his Brutus, Charles the First, his Cromwell, and George the Third'—'Treason, Sir,' exclaimed the Speaker; to which Mr.

<sup>5</sup> I quote from the second edition (Philadelphia, 1818), p. 65, but I believe all editions read the same.

<sup>6</sup> Jefferson, *Writings* (ed. Ford), IX. 468.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 6. Wirt says that the speech given by Burk is apocryphal, and that he himself "has not been able to procure a single authentic trace of that speech, except the anecdote presently given in the text." *Patrick Henry*, p. 64.

<sup>8</sup> Henry's *Henry*, I. 86.

Henry instantly replied, 'and George the Third, may he never have either.'"<sup>9</sup> But Randolph of course did not hear the speech, and was indeed but a boy of twelve when it was made.

Governor Fauquier's letter to the Lords of Trade, June 5, 1765,<sup>10</sup> gives an account of the discussions, mentioning Henry, but not quoting. Commissary William Robinson, writing to the Bishop of London on August 12, 1765,<sup>11</sup> says of Henry, "He blazed out in a violent speech against the Authority of parliament and the King, comparing his Majesty to a Tarquin, a Cæsar, and a Charles the First, and not sparing insinuations that he wished another Cromwell would arise." The mention of Tarquin and his Brutus, both in this letter of 1765 and in that which was printed in the London newspaper of that year, seems to show that they were included in Henry's comparison, though not remembered by Tyler and Jefferson.<sup>12</sup>

A photograph of the whole manuscript is in the office of the *Review*.

Xbre<sup>13</sup> the 4th 1764.

*Decbre 4.* Sail'd from Tiberoon<sup>14</sup> for Jamaica with pasqual to whom I was Obliged to give Six and thirty pistoles.<sup>15</sup>

*Dec. 6.* met with a Droguer of Bul Bay<sup>16</sup> that Caryed myself and bagage to Kingston for three pistoles.

*7th.* arived at Kingston and took lodgeings at the widow Breons for a pistole a week.

*Jany. 24, 1765.* Sailed from port Royal In a sloop bound to Charles-town S. Carolina and to touch at the havana.

25. the west End<sup>17</sup> bore N W b N Dist about 10 leagues.

26. Do. bore E B N Dist about 10 leagues, lost sight thereof and steard about N W until the 30th at Sunset had sight of Cape Corientes.<sup>18</sup>

31st. at 3 afternoon Cape Corientes bore N B E Dist 3 miles, at 4 made the land tending away to Cape St. antonio,<sup>19</sup> at 11sd. Cape bore

<sup>9</sup> L. G. Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, I. 56; M. C. Tyler, *Patrick Henry*, p. 65.

<sup>10</sup> Printed in Alexander H. Everett's life of Patrick Henry, Sparks's *American Biography*, second ser., I. 391-392; transcript in Lib. Cong., from C. O. 5: 1331, p. 70.

<sup>11</sup> Perry, *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Virginia*, p. 514.

<sup>12</sup> "Tarquin and Caesar had each his Brutus", is the version given by George Bancroft, *History*, V. 277 (of original edition).

<sup>13</sup> December.

<sup>14</sup> At the southwestern extremity of Haiti.

<sup>15</sup> A pistole was at that time about equivalent to four dollars.

<sup>16</sup> Buff Bay is meant, a small place on the north coast of Jamaica. A drogher was a West Indian coasting vessel.

<sup>17</sup> Of Jamaica.

<sup>18</sup> The south cape of western Cuba.

<sup>19</sup> The westernmost cape of Cuba.

north Dist about 6 miles; both the Capes are low and flat having no remarkable Elevated lands about them, but some scattering trees.

*Feb'y. the 1st.* at noon Cape St. antonio Bore S S E and the shoals to the Northward of the Cape N. W.

*2d.* at Day light began to discover the high lands to the Eastward of Cape St. antonio. at 8 in the m'g the wind Came to N N W in a squal and imadiately to N N E, a very hard gale and rain, we stood of[f] shore with Double reefd m. and f. s.<sup>20</sup>

*the 3d.* at 4 in the m'g Stood in Shore, the Sea very high blows hard. at noon had Sight of the land, which is high, at 3 Ev'g Stood of. the weather so thick and Dirty, Did not Judge safe to Keep in with the land.

*the 4th.* at 2 in the m'g Stood in shore until Day light. Saw the land, then Stood of. blows very hard; wind at N. E. under a Double reefd M. S. and Jib. at 6 in the E'g handed the Jib.

*the 5th.* the wind East stood in for the land at 2 in the m'g; at noon the weather Clear, had sight of the high land over porta porcas.<sup>21</sup> Continued to run in with the land until we Discovered a ledge of rocks which stretch to the N. E. of portaporcas, about a league of the land. at 5 Stood of shore.

*Feb'y the 6, 1765.* at three in the m'g Stood in shore. wind N E. at 11 made the land which was high and Cuts the Curents set very strong to windward. at 5 Ev'g Stood of, a very hard gale and high Sea.

*the 7th.* Stood of all night under a double reefd m. s. at 4 m'g Stood in shore under the same Sail, at 4 Ev'g saw the aforementioned high lands. we wore and lay of. the sea Excessive rough. the vessel began to take Considerably, at 10 she Strained so Much we handed the main s. and set her trible reefd f. s.

*the 8th.* at 4 m'g the f. s. split in the middle from head to foot. Set the Balanced<sup>22</sup> m. s. wind at E B N very hard indeed, head to the northward. all hands to mending the F. S. and the pump Continually a going.

*the 9th.* wind at East very hard. Stood in shore at m'g. at 9 bent f. s. towards Noon the weather Cleard up. Saw the land and observed 23d. 7. North latitude. the wind at E S E prety Moderate. stood of and on all night.

*the 10th.* at 8 m'g Saw the Bay of hunda<sup>23</sup> which seems to have a fine Entry. the Curents set to windward very strong. at 3 Ev'g were a brest of La Cavagnos<sup>24</sup> which seems also to have a fare Entrance. little winds. plying to windward all night. saw several fires on shore.

*the 11th.* at Day light were abrest of La Maria<sup>25</sup> out of which Came several small Craft loaded with timber for the King. the wind Comeing to the Southward, at 10 m'g we had sight of the moro Castle.<sup>26</sup> at 1 Ev'g Came to an anchor after the usual seremonys of sending the Boat on

<sup>20</sup> Mainsail and foresail.

<sup>21</sup> The harbor at the mouth of Rio de Puercos, some twenty miles west of Bahia Honda.

<sup>22</sup> Meaning, apparently, balance-reefed.

<sup>23</sup> Bahia Honda.

<sup>24</sup> Cabañas.

<sup>25</sup> Mariel.

<sup>26</sup> Off the entrance of Havana harbor.

shore to the fort which kept us a long time; this is one of the finest harbours in the world, the moro Castle stands on a rock on the larbord side going in and the punto<sup>27</sup> oposite to it on the starbord side. the Entrance is a long neck in which two ships Can not go abreast.<sup>28</sup> when past this neck the harbour Extends itself to the right and left to hold any number of shiping of any size. ships of 900 tuns load and unload alongside the wharf. there were two 84 gun ships read[y] to launch in the Dock.<sup>29</sup> they have a very fine sawmil in which they work 24 saws at the same time, they also [have] great quantitys of timber Such as mahogony and Sedar, of the last they build all their ships. the Soil of this Island is Extremely rich and fertil but the inhabitants are too Indlent to reap the benefit therof. the town is large and regular, ful of inhabitants, the Climate is the healthiest of the west India Islands.

general oReily seems to have made other men of the spaniards here than they naturaly are,<sup>30</sup> there was a general review of both regulars and militia which Could not be Distinguished one from the other, so well did the militia go thorough the Exercise. there was in all five thousand men under arms of which two thousand were regulars.

there is seventy thousand Chests of shugar made on this Island which Contain a thousd. weight Each, great quantitys of snuf, they have the finest fruit and green market here in any part of the west Indias.

this City is about two miles in circumference and Contains about 26 thousand inhabitants, the particular Commerce of the Island Consists in shugar, snuf, hides (which are rekoned very good), ginger, aloes, saseparila, tortiss shel, and pearl which they have from other Islands; as to its general Commerce it is the rendezvous for all the ships, particularly from portobelo and la Vera Cruz, which return into Spain from the Indias so that there is frequently a good number of shiping in this port. while they ride here there is a fair kept on shore where they trade for imense sums; while the fleet is in the Bay provisons are very Dear on shore and mony so plenty that nothing Else is seen in the Streets hardly. the fleet sails generally from hence thourough the Channel of bahama in the month of september and is the richest in the world. the smalpox took my negroe servant here which obliges to leave him in Charge with Doctor Grahame, and hjer a white servant whom general oreily had Discharged From his service.

*Saturday March the 2d, 1765.* Saild from the havana at noon. wind South, weather thick and heavy, stearing N E haveing a pilot on bord, we took at this place.

<sup>27</sup> Punta del Castillo.

<sup>28</sup> The Spaniards in June, 1762, at the opening of the siege by Albemarle and Pocock, blocked the entrance by sinking three vessels there. Keppel's *Keppel*, I. 365; Fernández Duro, *Armada Española*, VII. 51.

<sup>29</sup> Probably the *Trinidad y San José*, 112, and the *San Rafael*, 80, partly destroyed on the stocks by the British at the end of their occupation (August, 1762–July, 1763) but rebuilt. Fernández Duro, VII. 114–118; Clowes, *The Royal Navy*, III. 257, 315.

<sup>30</sup> On the evacuation by the English in July, 1763, the Conde de Ricla became governor-general, with Don Alejandro O'Reilly as second in command and inspector-general. An account of O'Reilly's prompt and effective reorganization of the military is given in Pezuela, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba*, III. 19–24.

*Sund. 3d.* at 6 this m'g had sight of the saw hill<sup>31</sup> to the Eastwd of the havana; the Eastermost part therof Bore South, Distance from the land about 8 leagues.

*Monday. 4th.* at Daylight no land in sight. at noon light northerly winds. tacked to the westward.

*tuesday 5th.* light winds. at 4 Ev'g made the land about Cape florida.<sup>32</sup> at 6 put about, wind N Easterly.

*wednesday 6th.* wind N westerly. set all sail. at 6 Ev'g made the Isac rocks<sup>33</sup> bareing E B S about 3 leagues Dist. at 7 put about to the westward.

*thursday 7th.* at 6 m'g tacked. light winds and fare weather. at 9 Ev'g made the Isac rocks again. at 11 Ev'g the wind Comeing to the Eastward Crowded all sail.

*friday 8th.* wind about E N E. stearing N B W. 6 Knots. a great Swel from the N. E.

*Saturday 9th.* light winds. saw a Sail standing to the southward. the Curents Set to the north about 60 miles in the 24 hours until we got past the providence<sup>34</sup> then 24 miles, and next day when I imagin we were out of Channel they were slack. at noon we observed 30.° 8' Latitude.

*Sunday 10th.* at 2 m'g Came to blow very hard at S. W. Dark thick weather. at 10 sounded seeing the water alterd but no grownd at 50 f.<sup>35</sup> we Expected to have fetched Georgia this Day where the Captn. promised me to put me on shore but we found the Curents set us far to the westward of the rekonig, and impossible to fetch it therefore made for Charlestown. this Day observed 32° 34' latitud which is that of Charlestown, by which we were certain we could not fetch this place, so Made for Cape fair.<sup>36</sup> at 6 Ev'g sound 16 f. water, Course sand. at 10, 13f., fine white sand with b[l]ack spots. blows Excessive hard at W.S.W. at 11 Ev'g 11 f., black sand with Isinglass, at 12 lay too under f. s.<sup>37</sup> head in shore.

*monday 11th.* at one m'g sounded 11fm. at 2 saw Brakers all round us. Sounded two ½ fm. wore imadiately and luckily we did not touch. if we had we should have perished inevitably. we steard East of the shoals and were soon in 11f. water. From this wrun 24 miles N B E and observed 33° 53' latitude which shews we were on Cape fear shoals Commonly Called the Fryingpan being one of the most Dangerous on the Coast; it blows so hard obliged to lay too under a Balanced main S. and all hands to the pump. Drifted of to 17 f. water.

*tuesday 12th.* Continues to blow very [hard]. wind at N W. under a

<sup>31</sup> Monteserrata?

<sup>32</sup> At the southeast extremity of Florida.

<sup>33</sup> Great Isaac and Little Isaac are rocks at the northwest of the Bahamas, near Bemini, and about 70 miles northeast of Cape Florida.

<sup>34</sup> Meaning, past the Northwest Providence Strait. Lord Adam Gordon reports, November, 1764, "In latitude 28 deg. and 30 Min. lies the North end of the great Bahama Bank, and beyond that Latitude the current will hustle you both to the Eastward and Northward, Surprizingly." Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, p. 390.

<sup>35</sup> Fathoms.

<sup>36</sup> Cape Fear.

<sup>37</sup> Foresail.

Balanced M. S. Sounded at Diferent times From 17 to 21 fm. latitude obsd.  $33^{\circ} 32'$  all this time out of Sight of land. at 10 Ev'g the wind began to modrate a litle. made sail to N N W. at 12 sounded 12 fm. at 1 m'g 10 fm. lay too head of shore.

wednesday 13th. at 5 m'g made sail. wind at S. W. smart breez. at 6 made the land, Distance about 4 leagues. all this coast is very low. at 8 were a brest of a place Call Beaufort. saw the Brakers on the bar<sup>38</sup> but not being acquainted we Continud to Cape lookout 12 miles farther; where we Came to an anchor at  $\frac{1}{2}$  after 11 very lookily, for at 12 it Came to blow as hard as Ever, and Continued so from S W to W N W.

this Bay is very safe, there is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  fathom water at the Entrance and in the Bay. underneath is the figure and the right anchoring place.<sup>39</sup>

you Keep the point on the right hand, on bord going in, and youl have  $3\frac{1}{2}$  fathom water, fine sand.

there is a very Dangerous shoal of the Cape which tends away S W. about 20 miles.

it Continued to blow so hard the remainder of this Day and all thursday that we Could not go on shore.

fryday 15th. Set out from the vessel with my servant and portmantle on his Sholder. we walked 7 miles to where there were some whale fishers tents, and got one of them to Cary us over the Sound<sup>40</sup> in their boat to Beaufort, a Small vilage not above 12 houses, the inhabitants seem miserable, they are very lasy and Indolent, they live mostly on fish and oisters, which they have here in great plenty. this harbour is Calld topsail inlet or Cor sound. Non but small vessels Can come here there being but 13 feet water on the bar at low water. the tide does not rise above 4 feet. the litle trade that is Caryed on here Consists in terpertine, tar and pitch. the first is made by Chiping the bark of one side of the tree about 3 feet from the ground; near the rout therof they make a hole to recive the terpertine as it Distils out of the Chiped part, which is taken out with a leadle and put into barels made for that purpose which are to hold thirty one galons and one half weighing 322 pds. the Cask or barel Included. [*In margin*: its said that one Negroe will tend 3000, which will rendr about 100 Barls. terpertin.] terpertine sels here now 8 sh'gs pr Bl. this Curency, which is Eaqual to 7 ss. philadelphia Cur'y.<sup>41</sup> terpertine is only made in the sumer time when the heat of the sun is suficient to force it out of the tree. when rain falls they are obliged to renew the insission on the bark, otherwise the liquor would Not Distill from the tree.

there is also great quantitys of tarr and pitch raised in this part of the Country; indeed more than in any other part of america. tar requires

<sup>38</sup> The bar off Old Topsail Inlet. They seem to have anchored in a bay lying just inside Cape Lookout, on the west—"at Cape Lookout. . . .a small Harbour Landlocked from all Winds, and without it a very good road, the best and safest from the Capes of Virginia to Georgia". Governor Dobbs in 1762. *N. C. Col. Rec.*, VI. 608. The coast-line has since altered greatly, but in John Collet's map of North Carolina, 1770, it is shown precisely as in our traveller's sketch-map of his haven (see next note).

<sup>39</sup> A rough sketch-map follows in the manuscript.

<sup>40</sup> Core Sound.

<sup>41</sup> More exactly, 8s. North Carolina currency (= one dollar) equalled 7s. 6d. Pennsylvania currency.

a more Considerable apparatus, and much greater trouble than terpen-tine; they prepare a circular floor of Clay, well simented, Declining a litle towards the Center in the form of an Iron sugar boyler, from the botom of this is laid a pipe of wood, the uper part of which is even with the floor, and reaches 10 feet without the circumference; under the Ends the Earth is Dug away, and barrels placed to receive the tarr as it runs; upon the floor is built a large pile of pine wood (which is generally of old fallen pines and of the branches and knotty parts) raised Commonly to the hight of 10 or 12 feet and in the aforesaid form of a boyler, filled up with the pieces of split pine with the Ends sloping or tending towards the basson in the Center, the whole is surrounded with a wall of Earth, leaving only a small opening at the top where the fire is first kindled. when the fire begins to burn they Cover this opening likewise to Confine the fire and hinder it from flaming out, and to leave only sufficient heat to force the tar Downwards to the floor. they temper the heat as they please, by running a Stick through the wall of Clay and giving it air or vent. in this manner the outward Extremity of the wood burning the tar drops from the other part into the floor and is Con-ducted by the woodin pipe into the barrels, which are to Contain  $31\frac{1}{2}$  galons weighing 322 pds. the Cask included. this is als[o] the gauge for terpintine and pitch. this last is made by boiling it in an Iron kette or making a hole in the Ground in which the tar is put and set on fire and burns itself into pitch.

*Saturday March the 16th. 1765.* got horsses with great Difficulty for myself, servant and a guide, and rode through a Continual forest of pine trees, with narow roads Cut in Diferent points of the Compas ( it would be necessary to have one to travel in this Country) untill we Came to a good Quakers 12 miles Dist. from Beaufort, where I lay this night. he makes spirits of terpen-tine and rosin.

*Sunday 17th Do.* Departed from the quakers Early in the morning for new Burn<sup>42</sup> and still the same thing today as yesterday, pine trees, In general terpen-tine walks, there is also oak and sipres and some sedr; there was here and there a small vilage and some litle farms Dispersd up and Down where they rais nothing but Indian Corn (of which they make their bread) and peas. the Soil all along very sandy and indiffer-ent, the land Extremely level and Even, not the least apearance of a Small hill, nor a stone to be Seen, but sea shels in plenty, which would seem to intimate that great part of Carolina was risen by the sands thrown up by the Sea to a Certain hight and then obliged itself to retire. the roads here must be very Dangerous in stormy weather by the falling of great Dead trees. the Inhabitants are obliged by an act of assembly to Cut them when once Dead<sup>43</sup> but they are not very punctual in the Execution therof. at 5 arived at trent river fery, a Small mile over to Newburn, which is to be the Capitol of north Carolina, as being best situated for that purpose;<sup>44</sup> it is the most sentrical town in the province, on a point

<sup>42</sup> Newbern.

<sup>43</sup> Statute of 1745, ch. 5, sects. 9, 10, 14, 24. *N. C. State Records*, XXIII. 223, 224, 226.

<sup>44</sup> Lieutenant-Governor Tryon, who was escorting Lord Adam Gordon through the province at just this time, and came into charge of the govern-ment by the death of Governor Dobbs on Mar. 28, writes on Apr. 1, "I spent two months in a Tour of this Province, and am determined in my opinion,

that separates the two rivers news and trent. the former runs up a Considerable way in the Country to the N. W. nearest, the latter towards the S. W. but not so far; neither of them are navigable for any else than flats or petiaugres<sup>45</sup> above the town, much to its advantage, as all the trade is thereby Carried on in the place. Vessels of two hundred tuns Burden Can Come Close to the town loaded, but there is a swash or flat inside of ocracoke barr,<sup>46</sup> on which there is but 9 foot water. when vessels Draw more than this quantity, they are obliged to lighten into flats and take in their goods when they are over the swash; the town is 70 miles from the Barr. the trade Consists in salt pork, some beef, Indian Corn, pitch, tarr, terpentine, spirits of terpentine, Rozin, rice, Dears skins, talow, hogs fat, mirtle wax, some tanned leather, lumber of all kinds and shingles, very good. there is plenty of saw mills in this Country set up at little Expence. wherever there is water that they can raise to the height of 5 feet by means of a Dam or breastworks they Erect a mill, if there is a sufficient quantity of water; the wheels are undershot about 3½ foot Diameter and 10 or 12 in length, they are always going, as the Contry is Cover with timber such as pitch pine, red, black, and white oak (the two first are very bad wood), some walnut, sipes and sedar, they are always well supplied. there is generally a tub mill for grinding their Corn at the same Dam. In the spring of the year, there is great quantities of herin Caught in the Different rivers, also shad (which we Call *allose*<sup>47</sup> in france), Drum and sturgeon; they send this fish to the westindia Islands, and the parts of the Continent where is none Caught; there grows some wheat in this province, but in small quantity, the Soil not Suiting it. their bread is generally of Indian meal. the town Consists of about 100 houses and 500 Inhabitants. there is a good Church<sup>48</sup> and Courthouse.<sup>49</sup> this place is very unhealthy in the sumertime, as is all Carolina, much afflicted with feavers, which must be owing to the lands being very low and not Cleared of the wood, and the stagnateing waters of these great rivers where there is no tide or Current but what is occasioned by the winds. on hot Calm Days you see a thick scum on the water, which occasions a Disagreeable stench. at this time the fishes ly Dead on the water.

at the first settlement of Carolina (which is now Distinguished by North and South) it was granted by the King to private gentlemen (8 in number) who were Called proprietors, but it was by an act of parliament redemanded and put under the protection of the Crown, Except the Earl of Granvilles eighth, which he still Enjoys. the other proprietors accepted of about 24000 £. the Indians back of this or these provinces are the Cherokees and Cataubas, with whom they are on a good footing, now. the Country is Intirely flat and level, 80 miles from the sea. the Carolinas is the only [province?] on the Continent subject to huricaines. oranges and olives grow well in south Caro'a, of which that the Public Business of it can be carried on nowhere with so much convenience and advantage to far the greatest part of the Inhabitants, as at New Bern." *N. C. Col. Records*, VI. 1320; VII. 2.

<sup>45</sup> Piraguas.

<sup>46</sup> At Ocracoke Inlet, leading into Pamlico Sound.

<sup>47</sup> *Alose*.

<sup>48</sup> Christ Church.

<sup>49</sup> Acts of 1761, ch. 8. *N. C. Col. Records*, XXV. 462.

Charles town is the Capital, a very flourishing tradeing town. Indego and rice is now the great staple. its Chief produce formerly was in Bavers, which is intirely Destroyed, as well as in Canada, by the Encouragement the Indians received for killing them.

Dureing 5 Days that I stayd here we had Continual bad weather and very Cold.

*Saturday march the 23d 1765.* Set out from Newburn (where I eat my St. Patricks Dinner which lasted untill 4 next morning), took fery a mile from the town and Crossed News river, which is about 2 miles broad here, but full of shoals. saw several flats Coming Down with pitch and tar, Corn, shingles, etc. Came this night to Mrs. bonds fery oposit to bath town,

*Do 24th.* Crossd over to bath. the fery is three miles Including one mile up the Creek on which the town lies. bath is small having but little or no trade. the vessels Can go 20 or 30 miles above the town. there are several vessels built here, and on other parts of this as well as on News river, but all small on account of the swash; the town in 80 miles from the Bar.

I went to weat on Colonel Pamer after Dinner, who is Colonel in the milita, Colector and surveyor general for this part of the province.<sup>50</sup> he invited me to spend the even'g with him, which I Complied with. he is very agreeable scots gentleman. Dureing three Days that made here we spent most part of the time together; the produce, and trade here, is of the same nature as at Newburn.

*wednesday march the 27th 1765.* Set out from bath, Crossed through forests and uncultivated lands as before to this Difference, the Soil seems to beter gradually as I Come to the norwd., and a greater mixture of oak trees than hitherto. [*In margin:* Crossed Earl granviles southernm't bounds 3 miles to the norwd. of bath, from whence it Continues to virginia.]<sup>51</sup> Great troops or flocks of swine which run wild in the woods and feed on the pine seeds and acorns, which is their only food. it is not surprising that their pork is not so firm or good in any sheap<sup>52</sup> as to the norwd where they feed them with Corn etc. there is great plenty of Dear in this part of Country, but will soon Diminish, if they Continue Destroying as they do now, in season or out of season, male or female is all alike. I Dined this Day on venson stakes in a poor farmers house where I stopd for that purpose. bacon is the Chief suport of all the Inhabitants, when fishing is out of season. it is a Dainty Dish here tho ever so fat or rare. this night lay at Daylys fery on Roanok river.<sup>53</sup> this is the most Considerable of all the rivers Communicateing to Albemarle or Pamligouh sounds. with regard to its Extent back no body knows as yet how far it gos. it is three and four fathom Deep for 150 miles up in the Country. many ware houses and stores are along it. great part of

<sup>50</sup> Col. Robert Palmer, surveyor-general since 1753, member of the council 1764-1771, highly spoken of by Tryon. *N. C. Col. Records*, VII. 516, 535. He seems to have continued in office till the Revolution. In 1785 he was living in England, a Loyalist. Egerton, *Royal Commission on the Loyalists*, pp. 259, 393.

<sup>51</sup> Lord Granville's property embraced all of the province that was north of 35°34' N.

<sup>52</sup> Shape.

<sup>53</sup> A few miles below the present Plymouth, N. C.

the produce of the Country about this river in the back part is sent to virginia, where they meet with a beter market than they Could Expect in any part of their own province, on acct. of its bad navigation. it is Computed that 6000 hhds. of tobacco are sent from this part, to Petersbourg on James's river, virginia. there Comes a Considerable quantity of wheat and Corn Down this river, and about 3000 hhds. tobacco which is shipped at Edenton. the Soil along the Sides of this river is reckoned fertil and rich, which is owing to its yearly overflow, it has that in Common with the Nile In Egypt. but it is a Dangerous neighbour when in that state, for it sometimes rises 40 feet perpendicular and Cays Every thing on its way, before it. it Covers great part of the adjacent Country as it is so very flat and level. the floods or freshes are generally in the End of septem'r and begining of octob'r. there are plenty of Iron mines in this part of the province but not yet worked; there is a very rich black lead mine In Bute County, near halifax, on Rogers mill Creek but not yet open'd. the lands back of the first of mountains, what they Commonly Call the blue ridge, are very rich, they are Inhabited by the scotch Irish, Germans, and Dutch, which were sent thither to Serve as a barière betwixt the lower settlers and the Indians; this, however, turned out otherwise, luckily for the poor wretches, that were sent there to be butchered; necessity, and the great Distance from any seaport, or town, obliged them to be industrious in rising all their necessaries within themselves, and at the same time to be watchful of the Indians and secure their little habitations with palisadoes and out works; the Soil answerd beyond their Expectations, in So much that it is at present the plentifullest part of america. they have all sorts of Catle, grain, roots, and fruits, butter, Chees, and beer of their own brewing. they manufacture their own aparel and have Everything In short, Except salt and Iron: they Drive great Drovers of Catle to the lower settlements, also butter, Chees and hemp which they Dispose of to advantage and a Considerable quantity of flower.

*friday march the 29th 1765.* I was obliged to remain heere two Days for want of horses and at length Crossed the river and walked to Cashia fery,<sup>54</sup> Crossed it and went to a farmers where I dined on good fat Bacon, greens, and Indian bread and had good sider to Drink. after Dinner he hied me to horses to mr Campbels on showan river 12 miles above Edenton for whom I had a letter of recomand'n.<sup>55</sup> [*In margin:* arrived at mr Campbels the 30th.] this gentleman is Justice of the peace, speaker of the assembly, in this Country, and a man generally Esteemed, and of the greatest property of any man in this part of the province; he received me with the greatest Civility possible, and notwithstanding all I could do, would not let me go from his house for a fortnight, Dureing which time he accompanied me to Different places; his house is pleasantly situated on the south side of showan river on a fine hil or eminence which [is] a rarity in this Country. the river is about two miles broad here altho 100 ms. from the Bar, and large sloops and schoo[ners] go up 50 miles above this place; the river seperates into two

<sup>54</sup> Across Cashie River.

<sup>55</sup> John Campbell of Bertie, member of the assembly 1754-1760, 1769-1775, speaker 1754-1755, member of the first four provincial congresses, 1774-1776; "the most eminent trader in this province", says Governor Dobbs in 1760. *N. C. Col. Recs.*, VI. 286.

branches, Called Nattoway and Meharin,<sup>56</sup> this last is navigable far up in the Country. the vessels that go up it brings great quantitys of Corn, some Wheat and staves, which they Cary to the norward to Different parts. the Difficulty of the Bar makes all these Comodities sel Cheaper than else where; there is great quantitys of fish Caught In this river, especially herin and others as before mentiond.

*wednesday aipril the 3d.* Crossed the river with mr. Campbel to see his soninlaw Mr BrownRigg, an agreable gentleman.<sup>57</sup> in the afternoon walked out to his saw mills which are on a Creek Communicating to the river. this evening went to see the herin fishing. in an hours time they Caught about 100 barels with quantity of Rock, white perche and several other sorts.

*aipril the 5th 1765.* went with these two gentlemen to Edenton which was formerly the Capital of North Carolina. it is pleasantly situated on a point betwixt two Creeks Communicateing to showan river. there was a Dozen vessels, briggs, sloops and schooners here takeing in pork, pitch, tar, terpertine, wheat, and Corn etc. this town is not quit so large as newburn. it is looked on to be very sickly in the sumertime. the land from the town on the north side the river, Down to Curatuck sound, is very good, produces quantities of wheat, Corn, pork, and very good passutrage. the bar hurts this place much. the back settlers on the river Roanoke and other places send their produce to Charlestown in south Carolina, and to petersburg, on James river, virg'a, where they get a beter price for them than here or in any porte in the province, the Chief of which are Cape fear, Newburn, etc, the former Governor mr Dobs resided at Cape fear, which was very unhandy to the Inhabitants, its being at the Extremity of the province; they were Obliged to atend the Courts there, but the present lieutenantgov., Colonel tryan, intends to reside at Newburn, which is indeed the most suitable place. they are got into a method hereabouts, of makeing what they Call green tar, which is this; they Chip the pine trees of their bark about 8 feet from the root Downwards on which the terpertine falls imediately into the Chiped part. when it is well imbibed therwith they slice of the wood as far as it is imbibed and burn this in kills as the former. the tar is much thinner and beter. there is a bounty of 4 s. pr barl. on this kind of tar which is great encouragement.

by Computation, there is in this province from 25 to 30 thousand white taxables, or men from the age of 16 to 60 — whom are musterd 4 times a year as militia; there but very few if any rich people. their fortunes Consist generally in lands, which are for the most part uncultivated, and Consequently of no advantage or value for the present, but the Inhabitants augment fast. this province is the azilum of the Convicts that have served their time in virginia and maryland. when at liberty they all (or great part) Come to this port where they are not Known and setle here. it is a fine Country for poor people, but not for the rich.

*aipril the 7th.* went to halifax on Roanok river, where there was a

<sup>56</sup> Nottoway and Meherrin.

<sup>57</sup> Richard Brownrigg of Chowan, member of the assembly 1770-1771, d. 1771; "Mr. and Mrs. Brownrigg, whom you will soon find two of the best people in the world". H. E. McCulloh to Iredell, in McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, I. 30. "Rd. Brownriggs Saw Mill" is laid down on Collet's map.

Court held, where all the inhabitants of the adjacent Country Come, to Deside their lawsuits and other Differences. this was formerly a town of Some note, but is Dwindling away fast. the 8th Came back to mr. Cambels, who tels me that this province and south Carolina particularly abounds in nitre. [*In margin*: the extent of both Carolinas from S to N. is from 31° to 36° 30 latitd., its breadth to the Indian nations about 300 miles.] there are 32 Countys<sup>58</sup> in north Carolina, which are very large, they have Each their Court house, where they Assemble 4 times a year; the General Courts are held where the Governor resides.

*aiph. 12.* went to mr Brownriggs where I stayed three Days to strengthen two horssets that I was obliged to buy, tho in very bad order, as is all this Country Cattle in the winter time, haveing nothing Else to live on but the moss that grows on the trees in the woods.

*aipril the 15th.* Set out from mr Brownrigs, lay at mr Granburys,<sup>59</sup> to whom he gave me a letter; he is a farmer in good circumst's. this stage was 15 miles

*the 16th.* from mr Granburys to sufolk 18 miles, a small town on the head of Nanseum river.<sup>60</sup> non but small Craft can Come to it. I Crossed the Carolina and virginia bounds 8 miles from Granburys. there [are] 5 or 6 stores or properly speaking shops here, about 50 or 60 other houses, a pretty Church, and Courthouse. this place is remarkable unhealthy in the sumer season, subject to feavors. the Country from mr. Granburys begins to look more inhabited.

*aipril the 17th.* Set out for portsmouth which is 30 miles. Dined at Robertses ordinary. arived at portsmouth at 6 in the Evening. the Country along something more open and Inhabited, but still very thick in wood. about 7 miles from Robertses Crossed the End of the Dismal swamp. this is a Considerable tract of land buried under water. there is a lake in the midle. this swamp is a harbour for all sorts of willd beasts, such as Bears, panthers, wolfs, and great quantity of serpents.

Portsmouth is situated on the west Side of Elizabeth river, oposite to Norfolk, which is on the East side and Capitale of a County of its name. Portsmouth is but lately settled. it has the advantage of norfolk haveing Deeper water of its side. ships of any Burden Can Come Close [to] the wharfs of which there are several very Convenient. norfolk on the other hand has been longer settled. it is the most Considerable town for trade and shiping In virginia. this harbour is very safe for ships of any Burthen. this is the only part of virginia where they build any thing of ships. the[y] have all the Conveniencies imaginable for that purpose. there is a fine ropery here, there are plenty of masts of all proportions to be had, and great quantitys are shiped of for all parts, Especially for the havana where they have a Contract for this article. there is a Smart trade Caried on from Norfolk to the wes[t] India Islands. their exports Consists in pork, Corn, flower, Butter, Cheese, Candles. hogs fat, tallow, ham, Bacon, lumber of all kinds, shingles, Masts, Yards, and naval stores; hemp is very much encouraged now, in virginia. and grows to great perfection. Iron they have great plenty of, it is brought Down here from maryland, and sold at the rate of 10 ps.<sup>61</sup> p. tun.

<sup>58</sup> Twenty-six.

<sup>59</sup> Josiah Granberry, vestryman of St. Paul's parish. *N. C. Recs.*, VI. 241.

<sup>60</sup> Suffolk, Va., on Nansemond River, described in J. F. D. Smyth, *Tour*, II. 104-105, and in J. D. Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II. 96-98.

<sup>61</sup> Pounds; its price in England at the time was about £7.

that is pig Iron. I look on this place to be one of the properest on the Continent for a King's port. as to the harbour non Can be beter, and the Country is well stoked with timber, they Can make their own Cordage, they have plenty of Iron and all Kinds of navall stores. this harbour is at the Entrance of the Bay, handy for all vessels going in or Coming out, and Is a Centrical place on the Continent. the mouth of Elizabeth is on Jameses river, which gos very far in the Country (of this here-after). Elizabeth river is about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile broad betwixt the two towns (there is three fery boats Employed here) and seperates into Eastern branch, and Elizabeth. about two miles below Portsmouth on the Same side, is another branch Call'd the western branch, on which they build ships also. the water at Norfolk is bad, but very good at Portsmouth. both places are Chiefly Inhabited by scotch, all presbiterians and altho they are the most bigoted set of people in the world, they have no house of worship of their own. there is a Church in Each place, of the English Establishment;<sup>62</sup> from hence I wrote to mr Mifflin in philadelphia<sup>63</sup> for a suply of money being short, and as I am obliged to weat his answer, I went to Different parts of the Country by way of amusement In the meantime.

*april the 19th.* Dined today with andrew sprowl Esqr. the headman of Portsmouth.<sup>64</sup> he lives in a pleasant place seperated by a Creek from the town, his house gos by the name of gasporte.<sup>65</sup> he has a very fine wharf before his Door where the Kings ships generally heave Down. this gentleman is a merchant of great reputation.

*the 20th Do.* Dined with mr Guilchrist<sup>66</sup> at norfolk, who Introduced me to all the people of note there, which are, Colonel tucker,<sup>67</sup> mr Muter. Doctor Campbel,<sup>68</sup> mr hutchison, mr Jameson,<sup>69</sup> and several others. all these gentlemen are In trade. there being a Court at williamsburg, which begun the 10th of aipril and holds 24 Days, I set out for thence.

*aipril the 24th.* Set out for williamsburg In Company with andrew

<sup>62</sup> Trinity Church in Portsmouth, and St. Paul's in Norfolk.

<sup>63</sup> Samuel Mifflin, who figures more largely in later portions of this diary, was a merchant in Philadelphia, and a justice of the city court there; Governor Thomas Mifflin was his cousin's son.

<sup>64</sup> Some Tory letters, 1775, of Andrew Sprowel are in *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XIV. 386-390.

<sup>65</sup> Gosport. In 1776 Gosport and all Sprowel's houses were burned by the Americans in retaliation for Lord Dunmore's burning of Norfolk. *William and Mary College Quarterly Magazine*, XV. 19. He and his family left Virginia in Dunmore's fleet. Force, *Am. Archives*, fifth ser., I. 152.

<sup>66</sup> John Gilchrist, merchant of Norfolk, accused of a bit of anti-British violence in 1766. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XXI. 167.

<sup>67</sup> Col. Richard Tucker (d. 1767), member of the House of Burgesses in 1752 and 1753.

<sup>68</sup> Dr. Archibald Campbell, a Scotsman, afterward a Tory. There is an account of him and his Norfolk property in *Second Report of Archives of Ontario*, pp. 131-133. See also *Am. Archives*, fourth ser., IV. 86, 87, 105.

<sup>69</sup> Neil Jameson, a noted merchant and afterward a noted Tory, who went away with Dunmore in 1776. *Ibid.*, IV. 343-348 (letters from him), and fifth ser., I. 152; *American Manuscripts in Royal Institution*, I. 136. There is a full account of him and his property in *Second Report of Archives of Ontario*, pp. 630-634, 646, 721, 1311-1313.

sprowl Esqr. and several of the Norfolk Gentlemen. left my horses at the tavern where I lodge; we took boat and Crossed over to hampton where we Dined. this fery is 12 miles across. hampton is a small town of very litle trade, but the Navall and Colectors offices being here makes it more Considerable than it otherwise would be. it has no harbour. there is a bar Crosses it about 2 miles Dist. from the town, outside of which, ships that are bound up or Down Jameses river (on the North side of which this town is placed) Come to an anchor and take their Expeditions. small Craft Can go over this Bar and ly Close to the town.

from hampton to york 28 miles. here we lay. this is a fine situation and a very prety litle town Inhabited by some of the genteelest people In virginia, who have some very prety buildings here. it is on an Elevated spot of grownd by the side of the river to which it gives its name, on which it has a beautifull prospect. ships of any burthen Can Come here, and 40 miles farther up. there was at this time three large vessels rideing of here. this and hampton road are the general rendezvous for the homeward bound ships. in war time there are on such occasions 100 sail of shiping to be seen here. the Country about here is very agreable. there is a small town on the oposite side of the river Called Gloster, of no great note. its situation is also very pleasant. there was a great Deal of Company at our tavern this night, several Capns. of ships, looking for freight, others gathering their funds.

april the 25th. set out Early for williamsburg, 12 miles Distn. fine road and pleasant Country. at 9 arived at this Capitol, which at a Distance looks like a large town, but it is far from it and very Iregular haveing only one street which Can be Called so, which makes a very good apearance. it is very s[p]acious, has at one End the Capitolle, a very good building in the form of an Each.<sup>70</sup> the Court is held in one wing on the first floor, the assembly room is in the other wing on the Same floor, the Councill and Comitee Chambers are upstairs on the first story. oposite to this building at the further End of the street Is a very fine Colege, which makes a grand apearance.<sup>71</sup> halfway betwixt these Builds. is the Church on one side the street and the powder magazeen on the other. the Governors house is towards the Colege on its left a litle back from the main street. it is a Small but neat building, with a Cupula on the top.

on our arival we had great Difficulty to get lodgings but thanks to mr sprowl I got a room at mrs. vaubes's tavern,<sup>72</sup> where all the best people resorted. I soon got acquainted with severals of them, but particularly with Colonel Burd,<sup>73</sup> sir peton skiper,<sup>74</sup> Capt. Russel,<sup>75</sup> Capt. le foré, and

<sup>70</sup> Meaning, an H.

<sup>71</sup> The College of William and Mary.

<sup>72</sup> The tavern kept by Mrs. Jane Vobe (information from Dr. Lyon G. Tyler).

<sup>73</sup> Col. William Byrd the third (1728-1777), on whose dissipated character see Anburey, *Travels through the Interior Parts of America*, II. 328-329, and Bassett (ed.), *Writings of Col. William Byrd*, pp. lxxxvii-lxxxviii.

<sup>74</sup> Sir Peyton Skipwith, seventh baronet (d. 1805), who spent his life in Virginia. A gay letter of his is in *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXV. 190.

<sup>75</sup> Either that Capt. William Russell, of the Fairfax County militia, of whose conduct in the French and Indian War Governor Dinwiddie speaks so ill (*Letters to Washington*, ed. S. M. Hamilton, I. 267), or Capt. William Russell

others, which I soon was like to have had reason to repent, for they are all professed gamesters, Especially Colonel Burd, who is never happy but when he has the box and Dices in hand. this Gentleman from a man of the greatest property of any in america has reduced himself to that Degree by gameing, that few or nobody will Credit him for Ever so small a sum of money. he was obliged to sel 400 fine Negroes a few Days before my arival. there were many sets made at me to get me in for the box but I had the good look<sup>76</sup> to Keep Clear of it, but Could not avoid playing some rubers at whist notwithstanding my aversion to it.

there are two generall Courts held at this Capital of virginia Yearly, the one beginning on the 10th aipril, and holds 24 Days, the other on the 10th octob'r and holds 24 Days also. at these Courts they take Cognisance of all Suits and Causes whatsoever; there are besides these two Courts of oyer and terminer at which Criminall afaires are Examined. the[y] have besides these, County and Burough Courts which hold monthly in the Dift. Countys and Bur's at the County Courts Examine all Causes and when the partys Dont agree they apeal to the General Court. the Burough Courts are for all afairs under 20 pounds value and Can go no farther. there Can be no Corporal punishment Inflicted on white people at any of the Inferior Courts. this is done by the superior Court at williamsburg.

*aipril the 28th.* I have been here three Days and am heartily sick of it. this morning hired a Chair and took a ride to Jameses City formerly the Capital of the province,<sup>77</sup> In Company with one mr Christy from baltymore In maryland who Is a looker on here as well as myself.<sup>78</sup> he is a merchant in the aforesaid place and Came to virginia to see the Country. Jamesestown is situated on a peninsula on the nort[h] side of Jameses or Powhatan river, 42 miles above its mouth; it Consists of about 70 houses. the Seat of government was here formerly but was Caryed to willamsburg on account of the unhealthyness of this place. some ships anchor of the town. after Dinner we Came back to williamsburg; there was a great number of people from all parts of the province and also the adjoining provinces, for this is time for Carying on business and setling maters with Correspondents. I supose there might be 5 or 6000 people here Dureing the Courts. it is Computed that the province Contains at present 130,000 taxables, from 16 to 60, that is to say the white men and slaves, the white men amount to 60,000 which is the militia body. they are musterd four times yearly. those that are absent from the generall musters without a leagal Cause are fined 10 shs., from private musters 5 shs. these are the laws but seldom put in Execution. never was a more Disagreeable place than this at present. In the Day time people hurying back and forwards from the Capitoll to the taverns, of Fincastle, in 1776 colonel of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment. Afterward however he was colonel of the Fifth Virginia Regiment, served throughout the Revolution, and was made brigadier-general of Virginia militia. He married Patrick Henry's sister. Captain Le Foret seems to have been a connection of Colonel Byrd, and a Barbadian.

<sup>76</sup> Luck.

<sup>77</sup> Jamestown.

<sup>78</sup> Probably James Christie, whose prosecution for Toryism in 1775 is exhibited in *Maryland Archives*, XI. 44-52, and, under the name of "James C——", in Eddis's *Letters from America*, pp. 218, 228-229.

and at night, Carousing and Drinking In one Chamber and box and Dice in another, which Continues till morning Commonly. there is not a publick house in virginia but have their tables all bated with the boxes, which shews the Extravagant Disposition of the planters; there are many of them who have very great Estates, but are mostly at loss for Cash. they live very well having all the necessaries on their Estates in great plenty. Madeira wine and punch made with Jamaica rum Is their Chief Drink. there are no large towns in this province, by reason of the Conveniency of its many navaiguable rivers, by which ships go up to all parts of it to the planters Doors: the Chief of those reside Mostely on the Borders of James and York rivers which is the best soil for tobacco Especially the Sweet sented which is so much Esteemed in England, where they keep it for their own use, or what they Call home Consumption. the other sort Called aranoacke, is Exported to holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany.

the Common way of traffic here, is by bartering one Commodity for another, for which reason Coin is scarce. their Common Curency is paper, which it has in Common with the other provinces.

Notwithstanding the Great plenty of Excelent timber and Naval stores in virginia, yet they build but very few ships, altho the Country is one Continued harbour after Entring the Chessapeake Bay between the Capes henry and Charles.

the produce of the Soil is hemp, Indian Corn, flax, silk, Cotton, and great quanty of wild grapes, but tobacco is the staple Commodity of virginia; there is now a very Considerable bounty on hemp, from the Colonies, which makes many people quit the tobacco (which is now very low in England) to raise hemp. how that will answer time will tell.

the air in virginia Depending very much on the Winds is of various temperaments, for those from the North or N. W. are Extremely sharp and piercing while the S. and S. E. are hazy and sul[t]ry. the winter in this Country is Dry and Clear; the snow falls in great quantities, but seldom lies above a day or two; and the frost tho very keen is seldom of any long duration. the spring is something Earlier than in England; may and June are pleasant; July and august sultry; September is noted for prodigious showers of rain.

towards the coast the land is low, and for an 100 m. back hardly a hill or stone to be seen. the Inhabitants are very Courteous and hospitable. strangers are allways welcome and genteelly treated by them, which is a raison why the taverns are extravagantly Dear.

Virginia is Divided into 25 Counties and in these are 54 parishes,<sup>79</sup> 30 or 40 of which are suplyed with ministers and to each parish belongs a Church, with Chapels of Eas in such of them as are of large extent. In this Colony are only 2 presbyterian and 3 quaker meetings. the pre-vailing religion is the protestant, no romans allowed. the Countys are as follows, namely, Norfolk, princess Ann, Nansemond, Isle of Weight, Surry, henrico, Prince George, prince Charles, James County,<sup>79a</sup> York, Warwick, Elizabeth, New Kent, King and Queens County, Midlessex, Essex or rapahanock, Richmond, Stafford, westmoreland, lancaster, Northumberland, Accomack, and Northampton.

<sup>79</sup> There were 55 counties in Virginia at this time, and about 80 parishes. The number of Presbyterian meetings was also, of course, greater than is stated below.

<sup>79a</sup> Meaning, Charles City County and James City County.

the revenue from tobacco in Great Britain is esteemed to be about three hund'd thousand pd. sterling per annum. and the Greater part of the profits of exported tobacco Comes to the merchants, which brings nearly as great a sum every Year into the Kingdom, the whole weight falling on the planter, who is kept Down by the lowness of the original price and the Ext[r]avagance of the Charges.

how advantageous must this article be to Great Britain, for which the rest of Europe, Nearly, pays her ready money, besides 200 large vessels and a proportionable number of Seamen, which are occupied in this trade; from England, the virginians take every article for Convenience or ornament which they use, their own manufactures not being worth mentioning. this Colony has Exported some Years 63 th'd hhds. tobacco, which was the greatest, and at other times, not above 30 th'd has been exportd. the medium of the two, which is about 46 th'd hhds., is the quantity generally Exported. the number of Convicts and Indented servants imported to virginia [is] amazing, besides the numbers of Dutch and German which is also Considerable.

the Virginia Capes are the two headlands which form the Entrance of the great bay of Chesapeake, the Southern Cape henry and the northernmost Cape Charles. Chesapeake is a large Bay, along which both provinces of virginia and Maryland are situated. it begins at the above Capes and runs up 180 miles N. B. E. it is said to be 18 miles broad at the mouth, and 7 m. over at the bottom, which [is] above baltimore in Maryland. Into it fall several large naviguable rivers from the western shore, and a few smaller streams from the peninsula that Divides the Bay from the ocean, which is Commonly Called the Eastern shore.

Stayed at williamsburg until the 14th, when, mr. Christy and others, we set out to the Norfolk paket boat which lay oposite to hog Island on James river about 3 mile dist. from the City; here we all lay at a tavern, and next morning shipped our provisions, and baggage, and set sail.

*May the 15th.* the river is about 3 miles broad all along Down to Norfolk and several banks of sand here and which the pilots must be well acquainted with; large vessels can go up as far as City [Point(?)] where they generally ly. the general stores or ware houses are at petersbourg, where all the tobacco made up the Country is sent too, as also what is sent from the back parts of north Carolina. most of the great planters reside about Petersburg and blandford.<sup>80</sup>

*May the 16th.* arrived at 4 in the morning at Norfolk. Could not See much of the river Coming, being night. there are two pakets, schooners of about 30 tuns, which go twice a week to Williamsburg and back to norfolk.

*the 17th.* Stayed at norfolk (my lodgings are in portsmouth the situation being more agreable, the water much beter,). Dined with Colonel tucker, a very Clever old Gentleman. went Down to the Bay side with a good Company of Gentlemen and Ladys a seine hawling, where we Caught a great quantity of fish. the[re] was a Kings fregat lying at anchor at Cape henry, Capt Morgan,<sup>81</sup> who was stationed here to examin all vessels homward or outward, with an Entent to put a stop to their trade with highspaniola and all other french Islands. there are

<sup>80</sup> Close by Petersburg.

<sup>81</sup> The *Hornet*, Capt. Jere. Morgan. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XXI.

men of war and fregates stationed all along the Continent for the same purpose; it is said the government proposes to prohibit Distilling of molasses, which will be a great stroke [to] the Colonys if they really Do.

*the 19th Do.* went with another set of Company from portsmouth to see a ship launshed on the western Branche. as we were going along, I in a single Chaire, my horse took fright at something and galoped of the road into a field where there was a quantity of stumps of trees one of which overturned my Chaire. the horse going as fast as his heels Could carry him, I was pitched head foremost on another stump, which Cut my head and bruised my left shouldre very much. the horse Continued until he Brok the Chair to pieces. one of the Company took me in a Chair and put me Down at my lodgings. was blooded twice that Evening, notwithstanding the fever took me and held me three days, but by Doctor Purssels help I was soon well.

*May the 29th.* havein[g] received two hundred pounds from Colonel tucker by order of mr. Mifflin, I set out for Williamsburg on my way to the Norward. as I was Crossing the fery from Norfolk to hampton I Saw three large ships and a brig coming by fort George, which is on point Comfort 3 miles from hampton. this was a pretty good fort formerly, but is now quite abandoned, the walls all fallen to pieces and the guns buried in the sand. the ships that Come into James river stear from Cape henry for this point and Come Close to it, the Channel obliging them thertoo.

I was obliged to hire a Chair [at] hampton, not being able to ride, my left arm and shoullder paid me so. lay at a tavern half way to York.

*May the 30th.* Set out Early from halfway house in the Chair and broke fast at York, arrived at williamsburg at 12, where I saw three Negroes hanging at the galous for haveing robbed Mr. Waltho<sup>82</sup> of 300 ps. I went immediately to the assembly which was seting, where I was entertained with very strong Debates Concerning Dutys that the parlement wants to lay on the american Colonys, which they Call or Stile stamp Dutys.<sup>83</sup> Shortly after I Came in one of the members stood up and said he had read that in former times tarquin and Julius had their Brutus, Charles had his Cromwell, and he Did not Doubt but some good american would stand up, in favour of his Country, but (says he) in a more moderate manner, and was going to Continue, when the speaker of the house rose and Said, he, the last that stood up had spoke treason, and was sorey to see that not one of the members of the house was loyal Enough to stop him, before he had gone so far. upon which the Same member stood up again (his name is henery) and said that if he had afronted the speaker, or the house, he was ready to ask pardon, and he would shew his loyalty to his majesty King G. the third, at the Expençe of the last Drop of his blood, but what he had said must be attributed to the Interest of his Countrys Dying liberty which he had at heart, and the heat of passion might have lead him to have said something more than he intended, but, again, if he said any thing wrong, he begged the speaker and the houses pardon. some other Members stood up and backed him, on which that afaire was dropped.

*May the 31th.* I returned to the assembly today, and heard very hot

<sup>82</sup> Nathaniel Walthoe, clerk of the council.

<sup>83</sup> Concerning Henry's celebrated speech here reported, see the introduction prefixed to this document.

Debates stil about the Stamp Dutys. the whole house was for Entering resolves on the records but they Differed much with regard the Contents or purport therof. some were for shewing their resentment to the highest. one of the resolves that these proposed, was that any person that would offer to sustain that the parlement of Engl'd had a right to impose or lay any tax or Dutys what's'r on the american Colonys, without the Consent of the inhabitants therof, Should be looked upon as a traitor, and Deemed an Enemy to his Country.<sup>84</sup> there were some others to the same purpose, and the majority was for Entring these resolves, upon which the Governor Dissolved the assembly, which hinderd their proceeding.

The Kings Berth Night<sup>85</sup> which was on the tuesday follow'g, was given by the lieutenant govenor mr. faquier.<sup>86</sup> I went there in Expectation of seeing a great Deal of Company, but was Disappointed for there was not above a Dozen of people. I came away before super.

wednesday June the 5th. Set out from williamsburg for Chiswels ord'y, Dist'n 15 miles,<sup>87</sup> the roads level but very Dusty and sandy. from hence to New Kent Courthouse, 12 miles. here I lay. there was a very heavy shower this afternoon which set all the tobacco planters to work planting. there had been no rain for three months before in this part of the Country.

Do. 6th. From New Ken[t] Court house to New Castle 22 ms.,<sup>88</sup> on pamunky river, one of the branches of York river, which seperates into

<sup>84</sup> This was the resolve which we may call no. 7, reckoning all that are quoted in any of the authorities. There has been much confusion in the matter, but it is set forth correctly (unless there is doubt as to the authorship of nos. 6 and 7) in M. C. Tyler's *Patrick Henry*, p. 67. Henry's own manuscript (*Henry's Henry*, I. 80) gives nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 as the resolutions offered by him and passed. The journal (*Journal*, 1761-1765, p. 360) gives nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 as passed. Campbell, *History of Virginia*, pp. 540, 541, 543, gives nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 as offered by Henry and passed, and says that two others were offered but not by him, but did not pass, that no. 5 was expunged on May 31, and that the *Virginia Gazette* published nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 (*Henry's Henry*, I. 93, says nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7). Whether this last statement of Campbell is correct or not, the set published in the *Newport Mercury* of June 24 and the *Boston Gazette* of July 1 is 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7. Marshall, *Life of Washington* (1804), II., app., p. 26, gives (incorrectly) nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 as passed, and (correctly) nos. 6 and 7 as not passed; Burk, *History of Virginia* (1805), III. 306-307, does the same, both resting, apparently, on Almon's *Prior Documents*, pp. 6, 7. Almon says that nos. 6 and 7 "were not passed, but only drawn up by the committee", i.e., committee of the whole. Jefferson, in a letter to Wirt, Aug. 14, 1814 (MS. Lib. Cong., and *Writings*, ed. Ford, IX. 467-468), thinks that nos. 5 and 7 were disagreed to, no. 5 as tautologous, no. 7 as leading to individual persecution, "and that the 6th was the one passed by the House, by a majority of a single vote, and expunged from the Journals the next day". Our traveller, however, appears to have seen no. 7 under debate on the 31st. The dissolution occurred the next day, June 1.

<sup>85</sup> George III. was born June 4 (N. S.), 1738.

<sup>86</sup> Francis Fauquier.

<sup>87</sup> Up the Peninsula. Chiswell's ordinary was near the border between James City and New Kent.

<sup>88</sup> Now Pamunkey, Va.

this and matapony, Down at Delawar.<sup>89</sup> large ships come up this river as far as Cumberland, 20 miles below this place.<sup>90</sup> New Castle is in hanover County, where they make your fine sweet sented tobacco, as also in louisa County, litle mountain, and uper James river. the Nearer the mountains the beter the Soil. it is a Small town but prettyly situated; litle or no trade because small Crafts and ships long boats can go a good ways farther up the river to take their tobacco out of the ware houses that are for that purpose.

I lodge, here, at Colonel Johnsons who Keeps tavern, he is Colonel in the Militia, and likes well to be Called so. his Brother major Boswell, also in the Militia, was here, and retained as well as myself, by the rain four and twenty hours, dureing which time we had nothing talked of but the stamp Dutys. the major says freely he'l sooner Die than pay a farthing, and is shure that all his Countrymen will do the Same. there was a great deal said about the Noble Patriot Mr. henery, who lives in this County,<sup>91</sup> the whole Inhabitants say publicly that if the least Injury was ofered to him they'd stand by him to the last Drop of their blood. some of them muter betwixt their teeth, let the worst Come to the worst we'l Call the french to our sucour; and if they were in Canada the British parlem't would as soon be Dd. as to offer to do what they do now. the Country hereabouts is fine and pleas't.

*June the 7th.* Set out from New Castle, Crossed the river here on a wooden Bridge, arived at tods bridge<sup>92</sup> on matapony river, 12 m. this is a Small place Consisting of three warehouses to lodge the tobacco that Comes Down the river in flats. Small ships Come up this river to Wakerton.<sup>93</sup> the large ships lye Down at Delawar.

*June the 8th.* from tods bridge to Sneads ordinary, 22 m. the Country very pleasant. from Sneads ordy. to port Royal, 12 m. this is a fine situation on Rapahanock river, a beautiful level Country about it. Ships of 400 hhds. come up to the town and brigs and large sloops Can go up to Frederiksborg, which is next to Norfolk and williamsburg the largest and most trading town in virginia. it has all the trade of the Back settlements who send Down here great quantitys of Butter, Chees, flax, hemp, flower, and some tobacco which they rol Down many miles. the large ships ride Down at tapahanock or hobses hole which is about 30 m. lower. frederiksb'g about 30 m. above.

<sup>89</sup> West Point.

<sup>90</sup> Cumberland Landing is on the Pamunkey, a few miles north of New Kent courthouse.

<sup>91</sup> Since 1764, Henry had lived in Louisa County. Wirt, p. 37.

<sup>92</sup> Now Aylett, Va.

<sup>93</sup> Walkerton.